



For trade distribution contact: 84b Whitechapel HIgh Street London E1 7QX (Tel: 081-558 7732) PO Box 021 835 Brooklyn NY 11234 USA

FOR READING CONTACT!

3 Balmoral Place
Stirling, Scotland
F K 8 2 R D
MAIL ORDER
DISTRIBUTION

We do not advocate Communism and Anarchy because we imagine nice to be better than they really are; if we had angels among us we might be tempted to entrust to them the task of organising us, though doubtless even bley would show the cloven foot very soon. But it is just because we take men as they are that we say: "Do not entrust them with the governing of you. This or that despicable minister might have been an excellent man if power had not been given to him. The only way of arriving at harmony of interests is by a bim. The only way of arriving at harmony of interests is by a because men are not angels that we say, "Let us arrange matters so that each man may see his interest bound up with the interests of others, then you will no longer have to fear his evil passions."

France expired under the heel of the allies in 1815, and yet the suffrage is the watchword of the century. In 1871 the Commune expired under voileys of grapeshot, and yet the watchword in France to-day is "the Free Commune." And if Anarchist Communism is vanquished in the coming revolution, after having asserted itself in the light of day, not only will it leave behind it the abolition of private property, not only will the working man have learned his true place in society, not only will the landed and mercantile aristocracy have received a mortal blow, but Communist Anarchism will be the goal of the revolution not succeed in realising the whole of this ideal, still all that shall have been effected in the direction of it will remain; but all that shall have been done in a contrary direction action of France had rendered serfdom impossible of continuance, all over Europe, and representative government ineviwill be doomed to disappear. It is a general rule that a popular revolution may be vanquished, but that, nevertheless, it table; universal suffrage was drowned in blood, and yet universal steps, instead of saying, "Yes, Anarchy is an excellent ideal," furnishes a motto for the evolution of the succeeding century. Anarchist Communism being the inevitable result of existing tendencies, it is towards this ideal that we must direct our and then turning our backs upon it. Should the approaching evolution of the twentieth century.

Anarchist Communism sums up all that is most beautiful and most durable in the progress of humanity; the sentiment of justice, the sentiment of liberty, and solidarity or community of interest. It guarantees the free evolution, both of the individual and of society. Therefore, it will triumph.

Printed by Tan New Tearn. Passs, Norbury, London, Oreal Britain.



Publications and Distribution

This Pamphlet is one of a series to be reprinted (or stolen), now to manifest itself under the Shrinking Publications and Distribution banner.

All the pamphlets to be published are excellent reading, each providing a great deal of information, food for thought or entertainment (this depends on what pamphlet you're reading-if you're especially lucky you might get all three from one!!)

Finally, anyone who wishes to offer suggestions for new editions don't hesitate to drop a line. I would also be extremely grateful to anyone who wishes to distribute or sell any of these pamphlets.

. .

<u>ව</u>

S T W

EDINBURGH

PO Box 610

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION

PART I.

You must often have asked yourselves what is the cause of Anarchism, and why, since there are already so many Socialist schools, it is necessary to found an additional one—that of Anarchism. In order to answer this question I will go back to the close of last century.

that epoch: there was an expansion of intelligence, a pro-digious development of the natural sciences, a pitiless midst of a thousand obstacles both without and within. the Great Revolution which had to force its way through the ment by despotism and by the narrow selfishness of the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity which has in all times been the ideal of the popular masses. Fettered in its free developby preceding ages, and a movement towards that ideal of criticism of the political institutions bequeathed to Humanity theory of Nature based on a truly scientific foundation, examination of accepted prejudices, the formation of a favoured by an explosion of popular indignation, engendered privileged classes, this movement, being at the same time observation and reasoning. In addition to these there was know the the natural sciences, a pitiless characteristics which marked

The Revolution was vanquished, but its ideas remained. Though at first persecuted and derided, they became the watchword for a whole century of slow evolution. The history of the nineteenth century is summed up in an effort to put in practice the principles elaborated at the end of last century: this is the lot of revolutions: though vanquished they establish the course of the evolution which follows them. In the domain of politics these ideas are abolition of aristocratic privileges, abolition of personal government, and equality before the law. In the

restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him." inclinations, and even to his passions, without any other in which each individual will be able to give free rein to his be our enemies, and we shall thus arrive at a state of things able to develop itself freely, because our fellows will no longer human beings, as it is to all animals living in society, will be hinder it, do not turn your back on progress, but march along with it! Then the sentiment of sociability which is common to of free groups. This course, which is so much obstructed at which allow some to monopolise the fruit of the labour of imposing upon it an authority which shall make everything right; if you do, you will fail as popes and emperors have failed. Modify society so that your fellows may not be any longer your of asceticism which he formerly made before the crucified god. It says to him, on the contrary, "No society is free so long as the individual is not so! Do not seek to modify society by present, is the true forward march of society: do not seek to to bottom, or from the centre to the circumference, let it develop others; and instead of attempting to construct society from top enemies by the force of circumstances: abolish the conditions of the preceding-god the Community, or to abdicate upon its rejected god, the universal tyrant, god the king, and god the altar his independence, his will, his tastes, and to renew the vow parliament, to give unto himself a god more terrible than any liberty is delusive; it does not ask the individual who has

not desire to trust itself again to any saviour, but will seek to either be anarchist or non-existent; the mass of the people does cannot be either authoritarian or parliamentary, it must organise itself by itself. because we shall be forced to do so. Communism, however, independently of the will of individuals, and when hands are be driven out. the work of expropriation will commence, and exploiters will a mere change of government, but will have a social character; all Europe in a blaze. This coming Revolution will not aim at rapidity as that of our fathers, the heroes of 1848, it will set it will be an European one, and spreading with the same us: whether it begins in France, Germany, Spain, or Russia, laid on private property we shall arrive at Communism, close of this century has a formidable revolution in store for hearts of peoples—of all peoples. We know full well that this ideal will not be attained without violent shocks; the This is our ideal, and it is the ideal which lies deep in the Whether we like it or not, this will be done

become instinctive is the true morality, the only morality which endures while religions and systems of philosophy pass away. teaching them a moral catechism: tribunals and prisons do not diminish vice; they pour it over society in floods. Men are to be moralised only by placing them in a position which shall contribute to develop in them those habits which are social, and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which has led to deceive nor exploit others, and then by the very force of hitherto unknown. Men are certainly not to be moralised by anarchist morality is represented in this example. It is the morality of a people which does not look for the sun at midnight -a morality without compulsion or authority, a morality of habit. Let us create circumstances in which man shall not be things the moral level of humanity will rise to a height

Let us now combine the three preceding elements, and we shall have Anarchy and its place in Socialistic Evolution.

production in common and free consumption of all the products Emancipation of the producer from the yoke of capital;

of the common labour.

ment of individuals in groups and federations; free organisation ascending from the simple to the complex, according to mutual Emancipation from the governmental yoke; free developneeds and tendencies.

Emancipation from religious morality; free morality, without compulsion or authority, developing itself from social life and

becoming habitual.

equality, and a tendency towards political liberty. So long as Communism presented itself under an authoritarian form, the enthusiasm of the worker who was prepared to submit to any all-powerful government, provided it would release him tendencies of our society-a tendency towards economic which necessarily implies government, armed with much greater power than that which it possesses to-day, inasmuch as it implies economic in addition to political power-so long as this was the case, Communism met with no sufficient response. Before 1848 it could, indeed, sometimes excite for a moment from the terrible situation in which he was placed, but it left The above is no dream of students, it is a conclusion which Anarchist Communism is the union of the two fundamental results from an analysis of the tendencies of modern society: the true friends of liberty indifferent.

Anarchist Communism maintains that most valuable of all conquests-individual liberty-and moreover extends it and gives it a solid basis-economic liberty-without which political

contractors! No favour shall be shown, the law of natural selection will take upon itself the function of killing off those economic order the Revolution proclaimed freedom of business your products, if you can produce, and if you do not possess he implements necessary for that purpose but have only your arms to sell, sell them, sell your labour to the highest bidder, the State will not interfere! Compete among yourselves, who do not keep pace with the progress of industry, and will reward those who take the lead. transactions; it said-"Sell and buy freely. Sell, all of you,

the detriment of others, as we have lately seen when the lamentable deviation from the grand principles of the and if the State intervenes in the struggle to favour some to monopolies of mining and railway companies have been under discussion, such action is regarded by the liberal school as a The above is at least the theory of the Revolution of 1789,

Revolution.

the morrow and misery for the greater number; crisis and wars for the conquest of markets, and a lavish expenditure of All this is because in proclaiming liberty of contract an essential point was neglected by our fathers. Not but what some of them caught sight of it, Not but what some of them caught sight of it, the best of them carnestly desired but did not dare to realise it. While liberty of transactions, that is to say a public money to find openings for industrial speculators. All this is because in proclaiming liberty of contract conflict between the members of society, was procldimed, the contending parties were not equally matched, and the powerful, armed for the contest by the means inherited from their fathers, have gained the upper hand over the weak. Under such conwomen and men, idle opulence for a few and uncertainty for ditions the millions of poor ranged against a few rich could What has been the result? You know only too well, both

Comrades! you have often asked yourselves-"Whence comes the wealth of the rich? Is it from their labour?" It would be a mockery to say that it was so. Let us suppose that M. Rothschild has worked all his life: well, you also, simple: you have exerted yourselves to produce by your own labour, while M.Rothschild has devoted himself to accumulating the product of the labour of others—the whole matter lies in every one of you working men have also laboured: then why should the fortune of M. Rothschild be measured by hundreds of millions while your possessions are so small? The reason is not do otherwise than give in.

(13)

of the result of their labour in return for the barest necessaries and where they will consent to give up to you the lion's share people have neither clothing, bread, nor work assured to them, "Among us you'll find no one willing to work on those terms If he sets up a factory and proposes to the inhabitants of the town that they should work in it for four shillings a day while condition of producing things useful to the community, and let us suppose a Rothschild to enter this city bringing with Go elsewhere and settle in some town where the unfortunate producing to the value of eight shillings a day they replydoes not grow like seed, and after the lapse of a twelvemonth rapidly; if he locks it up it will not increase, because gold him a cask full of gold. If he spends his gold it will diminish themselves under the existing social system! But let us picture to our minds a city all of whose inhabitants find their he will not find £110 in his drawer if he only put £100 into it. lodging, clothing, food and occupation secured to them, on priate the fruit of their labour?" . Alas, they cannot help of men thus allow the Rothschilds and the Mackays to appro-But some one may say to me; -"How comes it that millions Go where men starvel there you will make your

The origin of the wealth of the rich is your misery. Let

there be no poor, then we shall have no millionaires.

The facts I have just stated were such as the Revolution of last century did not comprehend or else could not act upon. That Revolution placed face to face two opposing ranks, the one consisting of a hungry, ill-clad army of former serfs, the other of men well provided with means. It then said to these two arrays—"Fight out your battle." The unfortunate were vanquished. They possessed no fortunes, but they had something more precious than all the gold in the world—their arms; and these arms, the source of all wealth, were monopolised by the wealthy. Thus we have seen those immense fortunes which are the characteristic feature of our age spring up on all sides. A king of the last century, "the great Louis the Fourteenth" of mercenary historians, would never have dreamed of possessing a fortune such as are held by those kings of the nineteenth century, the Vanderbilts and the Mackays.

On the other hand we have seen the poor reduced still more and more to toil for others, and while those who produced on their own account have rapidly disappeared, we find ourselves compelled under an ever increasing pressure

such conditions society would become impossible, and this is so generally understood that the repudiation of religions in no 'yay prevents public morality from being maintained, developed, and raised to a higher and ever higher standard. This fact is so striking that philosophers seek to explain it by the principles of utilitarianism, and recently Spencer sought to base the morality which exists among us upon physiological causes and the needs connected with the preservation of the race.

Let me give you an example in order to explain to you what we think on the matter.

and could not do otherwise! am happy to see you happy; I have acted from natural impulse him is happy. Directly he hears the heart-rending cry of the mother, he leaps into the water, not through reflection but by "What have I done to deserve thanks, my good woman? instinct, and when she thanks him for saving her child, he says childhood to feel himself one with the rest of humanity: from egotist? and, moreover, could we ever be sure that his of heaven, and the Creator will reward me by increasing my flocks and my serfs," and thereupon he plunges into the water. Is he therefore a moral man? Clearly not! He is a shrewd his neighbours suffer, and to feel happy when everyone around interests in common: he has accustomed himself to suffer when his childhood he has always regarded men as possessing fourth individual. This man has been brought up from his will to incline toward an inferior pleasure, that is to say, sophistical brain would not at some given moment cause his is a superior pleasure infinitely more intense and more durable than others; therefore I will save the child." Admitting that reasoning): "Pleasures can be classed in two categories, speak of him further. The next one reasons thus: "If I save inferior pleasures and higher ones. To save the life of anyone thus (or at least utilitarian philosophers represent him as so calculator, that is all. commercial middle-class; this one is a brute and we need not see it struggling in the water. the child, a good report of my action will be made to the ruler is a partisan of "Each one for himself," the maxim of the A child is drowning, and four men who stand upon the bank ee it struggling in the water. One of them does not stir, he The third, who is an utilitarian, reflects

You recognise in this case the truly moral man, and feel that others are only egotists in comparison with him. The whole

the purpose of consumption, or to produce objects of art or luxury, or to advance science in a new direction. This is the ask to develop it freely, without any governmental interference. Individual liberty! "Take pebbles," said Fourrier, "put beings—some of these groups organised by quarter, street, and house; others extending hands across the walls of cities, over beings who will combine freely, and after having performed their share of productive labour will meet together, either for tendency of the nineteenth century, and we follow it; we only them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves in a mosaic that you could never get by entrusting to anyone the work of arranging them harmoniously " frontiers and oceans. All of these will be composed of human themselves for the satisfaction of all the varied needs of human

NOW let me pass to the third part of my subject—the most important with respect to the future.

There is no more room for accurate them their death blow. But the nineteenth century has given them their death blow. But people declare that as they no longer believed in the various religions so they despised morality and boldly proclaimed the maxim of bourgeois selfishness, "Everyone for himself." But might promise to do a certain thing for me, only to deceive me; you might promise to forward a letter for me, and you we also relegate to museums the moral principles which they contain? This has sometimes been done, and we have seen and moral habits springing up within it; religion may go, morality remains. If we were to come to consider that a man There is no more room for doubting that religions are going; contain in the first place a primitive cosmogony, a rude attempt at explaining nature, and they furthermore contain a statement of the public morality born and developed within the mass of But when we throw religions overboard or store them among our public records as historical curiosities, shall Society, human or animal, cannot exist without certain rules did well in lying, deceiving his neighbours, or plundering them when possible (this is the middle-class business morality), we should come to such a pass that we could no longer live together. You might assure me of your friendship, but perhaps you might only do so in order to rob me more easily; you might steal it just like an ordinary governor of a jail.

give equal instruction to all," and forthwith education has been spread abroad. Better human machines have been others. This illustrious scientist, that renowned novelist, despite their education are still beasts of burden to the been made to remove these evils. Some have said-"Let us urned out, but these educated machines still labour to enrich capitalist. Instruction improves the cattle to be exploited but the exploitation remains. Next, there was great talk about get the better of capital by associating their miseries, and those who cherished this illusion most earnestly were com-Attempts have association, but the workers soon learned that they could not o labour more and more to enrich the rich. pelled to turn to Socialism.

Timid, at the outset, Socialism spoke at first in the name of Christian sentiment and morality: men profoundly imbued with the moral principles of Christianity—principles which it possesses in common with all other religions—came forward and said—"A Christian has no right to exploit his brethren!" But the ruling clases laughed in their faces with the reply - "Teach the people Christian resignation, tell them in the name of Christ that they should offer their left cheek to whosoever sniites them on the right, then you will be welcome; as for the dreams of equality which you find in Christianity, go and meditate on your discoveries in prison."

the free workshop of workers pocketing the entire value of the produce of their labour." To this the Bourgeoisie replied Later on Socialism spoke in the name of Governmentalism; men's associations; the State alone can enable working men to fight against capital and to oppose to capitalistic exploitation it said-". Since it is the special mission of the State to protect the weak against the strong, it is its duty to aid working with grapeshot in 1848.

mind in the International Working Men's Association, that Socialism spoke in the name of the people, and formulating It was not until between twenty to thirty years later, at a time when the popular masses were invited to express their itself little by little in the Congresses of the great Association and later on among its successors, arrived at some such

conclusion as the following:

All accumulated wealth is the product of the labour of all—of the present and of all preceding generations. This hall in which we are now assembled derives its value from the fact that it is situated in Paris-this magnificent city built by the

us, it does so, thanks to all the circumstances of our civilisation. of Murillo, and finally, if his book exercises any influence over him, his ideas have perhaps been suggested to him by a locomotive crossing the plains, as for elegance of design he has grasped it while admiring the Venus of Milo or the work to tell us what share his intellect has had in the magnificent deductions of the book, the work of talent which he has making machine among the natives of New Guinea it will become valueless. We defy any man of genius of our times part of that immense whole that we call the progress of the nineteenth century. If you send your laceproduced! Generations have toiled to accumulate facts for generations and is only possessed of value because it forms and patented bears within itself the intelligence of five or six next to nothing. The machinery which you have invented were conveyed amid the snows of Siberia its value would be labours of twenty successive generations. If this same hall

of it you must pay me a tax on each article you produce," any more than the feudal lord of the middle ages had the right to say to the cultivator—" This hill and this meadow are you bind, and on each haycock you heap up." mine and you must pay me tribute for every sheaf of barley to monopolise any one of these machines and to say to others--" This is mine, if you wish to make use spin for us, separate and combine the raw materials, and work the miracles of our times. No one has the right which we call machines, and which plane and saw, weave and See the enormous mass of appliances which the nineteenth century has created; behold those millions of iron slaves us what share of the general wealth is due to each individual. Everything belongs to all! We defy anyone soever to tell

is produced by everybody. tion of necessary objects, they have a right to share in all that woman contributes his and her share of labour for the produc-All belongs to everyone! And provided each man and

PART II.

Communism," you may say. is produced by the community at large. necessary objects, they are entitled to their share of all that A LL things belong to all, and provided that men and women contribute their share of labour for the production of Yes, it is Communism, but "But this is

> latter course had been adopted, we should still be in the days of stage-coaches.

indeed, that we pay too much to the managers of these enterprises; this is an additional reason for suppressing their incomes, but not for confiding the management of European enterprises of our age have been undertaken. It is quite true, efforts of the parties interested, and it is thus that all the great proceeding from the simple to the complex by the spontaneous The network of railways is the work of the human mind

railways to a central European government.

to gather up the wounded on the battle-field and to take care function-war; it says, "We undertake to slaughter, but we cannot take care of our victims; form a Red Cross Society which one or other does not concern itself. The State itself appeals to them in the discharge of its most important seen that there is not a single branch of human activity with exist in Europe, volumes would be necessary, and it would be the defence of the English coast, or for the avoidance of lawsuits, and so on. To make a list of the associations which varied requirement of the individual of our age—societies for study, for commerce, for pleasure and recreation; some of them, very small, for the propagation of a universal language or a certain method of short-hand writing; others with large arms, such as that which has recently been established for you want at other shops Is this the work of the State? It is true that we pay abominably dearly for middlemen; this is, however, an additional reason for suppressing them, but not now-a-days-meat at the butcher's, and all other things that have the money to pay for it, which is not always the case the morning to find bread at the baker's-that is, if you by the number of associations which spring up to meet the development of the human mind in our times we are struck providing for our feeding and clothing. If we closely scan the for believing that we must entrust government with the care of that commercial organisation which enables you on rising in Canal, the lines of Atlantic steamers, the telegraph which connects us with North and South America. Consider also his same idea! Take all great enterprises such as the Suez What thousands of examples one could cite in support of

or the monastery of We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting declare that the tendency of society is in an opposite direction. Let others, if they will, advocate industrial barracks Authoritarian Communism,

would initiate progress and set the example, and you may be sure that the progress realised would be incomparably superior to what we now attain through our ministeries. -- Is the State protect monopoly, has it ever been able to protect us against ill-disposed persons? Does it not, by creating misery, increase the number of crimes instead of diminishing them? In even necessary for the defence of a territory? If armed brigands attack a people, is not that same people, armed with good weapons, the surest rampart to oppose to the foreign aggressor? Standing armies are always beaten by invaders, and history teaches that the latter are to be repulsed by a popular rising alone. -- While Government is an excellent machine to In obliging us to commit to others the care of our affairs, does it not create the most terrible vice of societies-indifference to do much better than is now done for us? The great centres establishing prisons into which multitudes of men, women, and children are thrown for a time in order to come forth infinitely worse than when they went in, does not the State maintain nurseries of vice at the expense of the tax-payers? public matters?

in this century—our international traffic, our industrial discoveries, our means of communication—do we find that we owe them to the State or to private enterprise? Look at example, you take a ticket for St. Petersburg direct. You travel along railroads which have been constructed by millions the network of railways which cover Europe. At Madrid, for of workers, set in motion by dozens of companies; your in Madrid will be divided to a nicety among the companies or to wait until some Bismarck, Napoleon, or Zengis Khan should have conquered Europe, traced the lines with a pair of On the other hand, if we analyse all the great advances made carriage is attached in turn to Spanish, French, Bavarian, and direct trains are the result of an understanding which has been arrived at between twenty different companies. Of course there has been considerable friction at the outset, and and Russian locomotives: you travel without losing twenty minutes anywhere, and the two hundred francs which you paid which have combined to forward you to your destination. This line from Madrid to St. Petersburg has been constructed in small isolated branches which have been gradually connected, at times some companies, influenced by an unenlightened egotism have been unwilling to come to terms with the others; but, I ask, was it better to put up with this occasional friction, compasses, and regulated the despatch of the trains?

class has taken place: the prejudice in favour of private property is passing away. The worker grows more and it is the Communism which no longer speaks in the name of religion or of the state, but in the name of the people. During the past fifty years a great awakening of the working. more accustomed to regard the factory, the railway, or the mine, not as a feudal castle belonging to a lord, but as an institution of public utility which the public has the right to control. The idea of possession in common has not been worked out from the slow deductions of some thinker buried in his private study, it is a thought which is germinating in the brains of the working masses, and when the revolution, which the close of this century has in store for us, shall have hurled confusion into the camp of our exploiters, you will see that the mass of the people will demand Expropriation, and will proclaim its right to the factory, the locomotive, and the steamship.

developed during the latter half of our century, so also the a fact, and he who, like ourselves, wishes to share the popular life and follow its development, must acknowledge aspirations. The tendency of this closing century is towards Just as the sentiment of the inviolability of the home has scntiment of collective right to all that serves for the production of wealth has developed among the masses. It is that this affirmation is a faithful summary of the people's Communism, not the monastic or barrack-room Communism formerly advocated, but the free Communism which places the products reaped or manufactured in common at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.

"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" was the one which went straight to the heart of the This is the solution of which the mass of the people can most readily take hold, and it is the solution which the people demands at the most solemn epochs. In 1848 the formula masses, and if they acclaimed the Republic and universal suffrage, it was because they hoped to attain to Communism through them. In 1871, also, when the people besieged in and let them be distributed according to the requirements of each. Let each one take freely of all that is abundant and let those objects which are less plentiful be distributed more Paris desired to make a supreme effort to resist the invader, what was their demand ?-That free rations should be served out to everyone. Let all articles be put into one common stock

sparingly and in due proportions—this is the solution which the mass of the workers understand best. This is also the system which is commonly practised in the rural districts (of France). So long as the common lands afford abundant pasture, what Commune seeks to restrict their use? When brush-wood and chestnuts are plentiful, what Commune forbids its members to take as much as they want? And when the larger wood begins to grow scarce, what course does the peasant adopt?-The allowancing of individuals.

Let us take from the common stock the articles which are abundant, and let those objects whose production is more restricted be served out in allowances according to requirements, giving preference to children and old persons, that is to say, to the weak. And, moreover, let all be consumed, not in public, but at home, according to individual tastes and in company with one's family and friends. This is the ideal of the masses

But it is not enough to argue about, "Communism" and "Expropriation;" it is furthermore necessary to know who should have the management of the common patrimony, and it is especially on this question that different schools of Socialists are opposed to one another, some desiring authoritarian Communism, and others, like ourselves, declaring unreservedly in favour of anarchist Communism. In order to judge between these two, let us return once again to our starting point, the Revolution of last century.

In overturning royalty the Revolution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; but, by an inconsistency which was very natural at that time, it proclaimed, not a permanent sovereignty, but an intermittent one, to be exercised at certain intervals only, for the nomination of deputies supposed to represent the people. In reality it copied its institutions from the representative government of England. The Revolution was drowned in blood, and, nevertheless, representative government became the watchword of Europe. All Europe. with the exception of Russia, has tried it, under all possible forms, from government based on a property qualification to the direct government of the little Swiss republics. But, strange to say, just in proportion as we have approached nearer to the ideal of a representative government, elected by a perfectly free universal suffrage, in that same proportion have its essential vices become manifest to us, till we have clearly seen that this mode of government is radically defective. Is it not indeed absurd to take a certain number of men from

out the mass, and to entrust them with the management of all public affairs, saying to them, "Attend to these matters, we exonerate ourselves from the task by laying it upon you: it is for you to make laws on all manner of subjects-armaments and mad dogs, observatories and chimneys, instruction and street-sweeping: arrange these things as you please and make aws about them, since you are the chosen ones whom the people has voted capable of doing everything!" It appears to me that if a thoughtful and honest man were offered such a post, he would answer somewhat in this fashion :-

"You entrust me with a task which I am unable to fulfil. I am unacquainted with most of the questions upon which I shall be called on to legislate. I shall either have to work to some extent in the dark, which will not be to your advantage, or I shall appeal to you and summon meetings in which you will yourselves seck to come to an understanding on the questions at issue, in which case my office will be unnecessary. If you have formed an opinion and have formulated it, and if you are anxious to come to an understanding with others who have also formed an opinion on the same subject, then all you need do is to communicate with your neighbours and send a delegate to come to an understanding with other delegates on this specific question; but you will certainly reserve to yourselves the right of taking an ultimate decision; you will not entrust your delegate with the making of laws for you. This is how scientists and business men act each time

that they have to come to an agreement." But the above reply would be a repudiation of the representative system, and nevertheless it is a faithful expression of the idea which is growing everywhere since the vices of representative government have been exposed in all their nakedness. Our age, however, has gone still further, for it has begun to discuss the rights of the State and of Society in relation to the individual; people now ask to what point the interference of the State is necessary in the multitudinous

functions of society.

Do we require a government to educate our children? Only let the worker have leisure to instruct himself, and you will see that, through the free initiative of parents and of persons fend of tuition, thousands of educational societies and schools of all kinds will spring up, rivalling one another in the excellence of their teaching. If we were not crushed by taxation and exploited by employers, as we now are, could we not ourselves